1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride [178] [494] to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

585 attracted some two to three hundred guests. These ordinarily include the bride's immediate family, her personal friends, and an assortment of her relatives; the groom's family and his personal friends; the groom's maternal relatives and most of his paternal relatives; and often the groom's neighbors and business acquaintances. Those families who are distantly related, or who live at some distance from the village, ordinarily send only one of their members, usually the head of the household, to represent the family, but in the case of more closely related relatives and neighbors the entire family will attend the wedding. The women gossip and sometimes help in the kitchen with the preparation of food; the men stand about in small clusters talking and smoking; and the children organize themselves for playing "wedding," hop-scotch, or tops. The result is what the villager's call lǎu-ziât, "noise " or "enthusiasm," and it is a good wedding when there is much lǎu ziât, wealthy families sometimes hiring a professional band to stand in front of the house and add to the uproar.

The wedding itself begins when the go-between leads a procession of the groom and his friends and relatives to the girl's home to claim the bride. When they arrive in the girl's village they are usually greeted by a large gathering of the bride's friends and relatives who have been called to eat the traditional wedding cakes, and there naturally follows an exchange of introductions and greetings between the two parties. Amidst these otherwise festive surroundings occurs what is perhaps one of the most tragic scenes in all of village life. Every bride knows that once she leaves her parental home she can never return.

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585 No matter how cruelly her mother-in-law may treat her, no matter how
591 unattractive or incompetent her husband, she must make her life in their
• 152 home or else somehow manage her own support. As one village woman put it, "You can go home to your parents, and they may sympathize and let you stay for a few days, but you will still have to go back to your husband's family. Your parents can't be expected to feed you all of your life. Once you are married the rice is cooked." Since the bride will have only just met her husband's parents, and perhaps never have seen her husband himself, her departure from her parents home is a great and uncertain step in her life. It is not surprising that most brides forget their wedding finery and plead with their parents to allow them to stay in their natal home. Tradition asks of them that they make some display of reluctance as a means of showing affection for their parents, but it is clear that the painful leave-takings are less a formality and more a sincere expression of fear and foreboding.

585 When at last the go-between manages to lead the reluctant and crying bride out of the house to the waiting procession, her friends and relatives gather around to bid her farewell. "May you soon bear a son." "May your childbirth be easy." "May you soon become a mother-in-law yourself." Upon its arrival in the groom's village the vehicle containing the bride is immediately surrounded by crowds of curious adults and dozens of children who chant nasty little ditties. "The bride is like a pig; the new bride has big legs; the new bride is fat like a sow." This trial usually continues for some fifteen or twenty minutes while the go-between makes last minute preparations for the

606 that she was so happy her son was marrying soon "because now I will have somebody to help me cook and take care of this large family." She was naturally very much disappointed when her daughter-in-law turned out to be no better prepared than she herself had been, and as a result she was constantly complaining that her daughter-in-law was a "useless girl who doesn't know how to do anything but eat rice."

Listening to the daily bickering among the women of the household, one gets the impression that the tension between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is primarily a matter of conflict over household routine. The mother-in-law complains that her son's wife "doesn't know how to do anything," that "she is lazy and stupid," that "she doesn't know the worth of money," and so forth. For her part, the daughter-in-law accuses the older woman of "really being able to scold," of not giving her son "enough money to buy anything," and of being generally demanding and bad tempered. But while these daily encounters over matters of household management and the domestic division of labor do add to the tensions between the two women, they are more the topics of the conflict than the real cause of the tension. 593 The origins of the tension between the two women would seem rather to 606 be a competition for the loyalty of the young man who is the older • 152 woman's son and the younger woman's husband. A woman proves herself as a woman and secures her position as a wife by bearing male children. It is through her sons and by means of her sons that a woman finds a place in life. Moreover, given the ideal of an expressionless and unemotional relationship between husband and wife, a woman's male

*593 children are often the only appropriate objects for her affections.
606 It is not surprising then that she is jealous of the woman who enters
• 152 her son's life and threatens to replace her in his sympathies, and this jealousy finds expression in an exaggerated reaction to the irritations of life in the kitchen. For her part, the daughter-in-law soon learns that her husband is the only potential ally she has in her new home. Although her father-in-law may sympathize with her predicament, the expectation of avoidance prevents him from ever playing a protective role, and the inevitable conflicts between brothers effectively precludes any possibility of a sympathetic relationship with her husband's sisters-in-law. The young woman therefore turns to her husband as her confidant and her resource, hoping that she will be able to talk him into leaving the larger family, thus freeing herself forever of the tyranny of her mother-in-law. This tactic naturally serves to confirm the worst of her mother-in-law's fears, and her irritation and resentment of the daughter-in-law is increased proportionately. The result is a conflagration that feeds on its own flames. The more resentful and jealous the mother-in-law, the more she tyrannizes her son's wife; and the more she is victimized, the greater the daughter-in-law's efforts to pry her husband out of his natal family, this effort serving to confirm the older woman's suspicions and intensify her resentment.

This more basic cause of the conflict between the two women is often laid bare in times of crisis. In their daily encounters both women express themselves in the rhetoric of the kitchen, but when these

*593 minor encounters boil up into a crisis the real cause of their differ-
606 ences comes to the fore. When a village mother who was having great
• 152 difficulty with her daughter-in-law seemed to be losing control of the situation, her complaint was not that the daughter-in-law was lazy or incompetent, but rather that her daughter-in-law "is trying to steal my son from me." She told her son, "I'll go kill myself, and then the two of you can be alone and not be bothered with a mother." In this particular case the son responded in terms of the ideal role for a son, assuring his mother that he would send his wife away rather than cause his mother pain. In his own words, "How can I let you do that? If she isn't good to you, then I'll send her back to her family. How can I let you kill yourself?" Such a response naturally encourages a mother and temporarily calms her fears, but there is always the worrisome possibility that someday her daughter-in-law will alienate her from her son. To bear sons is a woman's first great trial in life; to maintain their loyalty and affection is the second and more difficult trial. As a well known proverb tells, "You can bear a son's body, but you can never know a son's heart." In sympathizing with a neighbor who was having trouble with her son's wife, a village woman expressed what is probably the most basic fear of every mother with a married son.

> "You raise your children, and then when they grow up they are always someone else's. Your daughter belongs to your son-in-law, and your son belongs to his wife. Especially those men who always listen to what their wives say. If you say two words to your daughter-in-law, then they'll get mad and move out of the family."

*597 606 the root of the conflict created by the preferred form of marriage. A mother can hardly think of herself as being replaced in her son's affections by a woman who is her own daughter, and a man's wife is not likely to work to alienate him from his parents when they are also her parents. She will not, like the wife entering as an adult, see her husband as her only potential ally and will not feel the need to make any of the exclusive claims on him that are so frightening to mothers. She will have accepted her mother's claim on her brother long before she conceived of having any claims of her own on him as a husband. Thus the sīm-pûa marriage solves the mother-in-law daughter-in-law conflict by simply replacing this relationship with the more satis-

[601] factory mother-daughter relationship. The daughter-in-law in the preferred marriage only addresses her husband's parents as "father" and "mother," while in the sīm-pûa marriage a woman's husband's parents are her father and mother. One might say that the sīm-pûa marriage creates the social and psychological reality idealized in the kinship terminology.

*597 *593 • 152 We have already seen that adopted daughters are often cruelly mistreated by their foster parents. One might therefore expect that many adopted daughters would grow up resenting and perhaps hating their foster parents, and that this would result in anything but a satisfactory in-law relationship. This is not the case, however. For reasons which we do not entirely understand, the resentment which many adopted daughters feel as a result of this treatment is usually directed at their natal family rather than their foster family. They blame their biological parents for giving them away rather than their foster parents

+597 +593 • 152 for mistreating them. After relating at some length her unhappy childhood as an adopted daughter, one young village woman then went on to describe her relationship with her two sets of parents as follows:

> "I used to get so mad at my parents because they gave me away. Even now I sometimes feel that it is all their fault. If they hadn't given me away, I probably would have had a very happy life. I'm sure that it wouldn't have been like this. I can still remember when I was a little girl. My parents and my foster parents were good friends, and so my parents used to often come here. I remember once when I was playing out in the yard with a mat. I saw my mother coming down the road, and so I rolled up in the mat and hid. I didn't want to see her... If my parents had just opened their eyes and looked before they gave me away, it wouldn't have been so bad. If they had given me to a family that didn't have any children they would have liked me, but they gave me to a family that didn't need children, and wanted me to marry one of their sons. When I wouldn't do it, my foster mother tried to get my real mother to come and talk me into it, but there was nothing that she could do. I hated her much more than I hated my foster parents. I could never get used to the idea of having two mothers. I used to think, 'Everyone else has only one mother. Why should I have two mothers.' I knew that she was my real mother, but I would make myself think, 'This is my mother (her foster mother. She isn't my mother.'"

This tendency for adopted daughters to lay the greater blame on their biological parents was also affirmed by the mothers of several adopted daughters. A village woman who had given one of her daughters to a family living on the other side of the village told us that the girl "seems to hate me."

> "Whenever I bring her home to visit she doesn't want to stay here and when I go to get her she gives me a hateful look and turns her head away. I don't know why this is. Usually at that age they don't understand. I don't know whether she is mad because I gave her away or what. She just doesn't like me. She plays with her brothers and sisters fine, but she just doesn't like me. Whenever someone asks her about me, she tells them that I'm not her real mother, but her other sister's real mother."

597 Adopted daughters do, of course, direct some of their resentment
• 152 toward their foster parents, but the disruptive effects of this upon
155 the mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship are more than offset by the positive elements of the relationship. While the daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage soon learns to give as much as she receives, it is the rare sim-pûa who ever expresses any anger towards her foster mother. Rather than becoming quarrelsome and hot tempered as a result of the treatment she receives in her foster home, the adopted daughter learns "to watch other people's faces." She may fear her foster parents, but it is rare to find an adopted daughter who
597 hates her foster parents. At the beginning of the last chapter we
855 quoted at length a village woman who described her foster mother as
152 "always beating me whenever she was angry." This same woman also told us that despite this treatment she was much more attached to her foster mother than to her biological mother. In her own words,

> "You know it was very funny when I was a child. My foster mother was beating me up all the time, but still whenever I heard someone from my natal family coming to take me home for a visit I was scared and ran and hid in the toilet. My older brother and my foster mother and the others would all come and try to pull me out, but I would not come out. At that time it seemed to me that going back to my natal home would be just like cutting off a piece of my flesh. I just don't know why it was. My mother used to say to me, 'Your foster mother is always beating you and I am very nice to you, and yet you still don't want to come home to see us. How is that you can want to stay with your foster mother?' I felt the same way myself, and I just don't know why it was that I didn't want to go home. My foster mother was always beating me up, and yet if I didn't see her for a few hours I would cry and run to look for her. Even when I did go to visit my natal family I wouldn't play with the children who

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lived around there. I would just sit there hoping that we would eat pretty soon so that I could run back home. I was fourteen years old before I finally spent a night in my natal home.

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While we would argue that the sīm-pûa's willingness "to listen to her mother-in-law" is primarily a result of her experience as a child of the family, it is important to note that it is very much reinforced by the attitude of the family's neighbors and relatives. Quarreling and bickering between a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in the preferred form of marriage is expected, and the most common reaction of outsiders is one of mild and somewhat bemused disapprobation. A mother-in-law cannot depend upon public opinion to help her in dealing with a recalcitrant daughter-in-law. In the case of the sīm-pûa marriage, however, the situation is very different. The daughter-in-law is then also a daughter of the family, and it would be an offense against filial piety for her to quarrel with her mother-in-law since she is also her mother. The daughter-in-law can criticize her mother-in-law without any great risk of losing social support, but the sīm-pûa who quarrels with her husband's mother may very well find herself ostracized as an unfilial daughter. The sīm-pûa marriage thus has the effect of binding the daughter-in-law to her husband's family with a double bond. She is expected to work and bear children for the family as a daughter-in-law, and she is expected to obey and honor her husband's parents as a daughter.

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Aside from its economic advantages, the sīm-pûa form of marriage would, therefore, also seem to have a real structural advantage. A

583 562 837 583 593 837 152 involved two young women who formerly had been prostitutes. By comparison, we find at least 5 cases of adultery among the 23 women who married as sīm-pûa. It is also interesting to note that these breeches on the part of the women who married as sīm-pûa did not arouse the wrath of husbandly outrage. The expectation of most villagers is that the husband would beat and perhaps even kill a wife for committing adultery, but in none of these instances did the husband seem particularly concerned about the situation. Although it was well known in the village that the wife of one of these men had been having an affair with a neighbor for several years, the husband ignored the situation until he was finally forced to react by finding the couple in flagrante delicto in his own house. Perhaps sexual interest is a necessary condition of jealousy, and these husbands simply lacked such interest in their wives.

593 583 831 152 It would thus appear that the sexual relationship created by the sīm-pûa form of marriage is something less than satisfactory. The partners to such a marriage are more likely to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage, and men who have married in this way tend to avoid sexual relations with their wives. Perhaps this is because they come to regard one another as brother and sister, or perhaps their aversion to one another is a result of a psychological set created by their early and prolonged association. Whatever the reason it seems clear that the conditions of the sīm-pûa marriage create a sexual aversion which is not characteristic of the other two forms of marriage. Why is it that parties to the sīm-pûa marriage have always

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*583 had to be "pushed together", and why is it that young people refused
831 to make such marriages as soon as they were in a position to do so?
• 152 The answer would seem to be simply the one they themselves give.
Such marriages are "uninteresting" and "embarrassing." To marry a man
or woman with whom one has lived from childhood is too much like
marrying a brother or sister. Such marriages lack the interest and
excitement of marriage with a person from another family, and to some
extent the idea of such a union may even arouse feelings of positive
revulsion.

*583 The two cases in which men born after 1910 did later marry their
*597 sīm-pûà tend to support rather than weaken this argument. Unlike the
other fourteen cases in which the young people refused to make a sīm-
pûà marriage, these two couples did not grow up as members of the same
household. In both cases the son was the offspring of a woman who had
married as a sīm-pûà, and the adopted daughter a child which the
husband had adopted while living with another woman. In one case the
future wife did not enter her husband's household until the time of
their marriage, and in the other they did not begin to live under the
same roof until the girl was seventeen years of age. Since it would
be impossible for the couple to marry if the girl was not thought of
as a sīm-pûà, the two marriages were both defined by the family and
by the couples themselves as sīm-pûà marriages. We therefore have in
these two cases instances of sīm-pûà marriages without the usual con-
ditions of early and constant association as brother and sister.
The fact that these were the only two sīm-pûà marriages among those

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Gioq-ki was further humiliated. Chang did not return that night either. I heard a pathetic exchange the next day between Gioq-ki and her favorite aunt.

The aunt: "Don't you worry about whether he comes home or not. You know when he gets paid so you can just go get the money each month."

Gioq-ki: "Yes, I'll go for his money and if he won't give it to me, I'll leave him the children to take care of. I don't care anymore. But I'm sure he will come back tonight because tomorrow is our eldest son's birthday."

The aunt: "Why do you think he will come back for that?"

Gioq-ki: "Well, he was asking me last week before all this started what day it was. . . ."

Chang did not return for his son's birthday. A few days later, I asked another of Gioq-ki's relatives what the latest news was. She told me, "I haven't been out much because I have a cold so I don't know how Gioq-ki is feeling now about these things. Everyone is talking about them, but no one saw the whole thing or knows whether all of these things are true or not.

"When you look at Chang Jong-kuei, he seems like a man with a good enough temper, but when he gets mad he is really enough to scare anyone. Gioq-ki's temper is just as bad. Her nature is just like her father's—no matter what it is, she has to be the head.

"As soon as a man has a family and his wife isn't there, this kind of thing happens. Gioq-ki has only a small family so why doesn't she move to Taipei and live with him there. He works in Taipei and of course he is tired and sometimes doesn't want to come all the way out to the village. If she really believes all the things people here are saying, and I'm not sure I do, she ought to move to Taipei and see if it is really true or not."

When I left the village a few months later, Gioq-ki had not yet followed her relative's advice, but Chang had returned and seemed to be around more often in the evenings. What has happened since, I have no way of knowing.

The reaction of the women in the main Lim family to Gioq-ki's troubles was that of sympathy, which surprised me somewhat, and non-involvement, which I expected. The men, of course, publicly ignored the situation. Even Lim Chieng-cua's wife, notoriously lacking in sympathy for anyone but herself, felt sorry for Gioq-ki. Lim A-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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*596 Lim A-
*159 pou was no more communicative than usual, but she did make a few
• 152 terse comments about Chang's origin and what might be expected
837 under the circumstances. The relationship between Lim Hue-lieng's
595 two families is intriguing. None of the women in the main family are what I came to call "wanderers," that is women who of an afternoon turn up in different houses or at the various gathering places in search of conversation and the latest gossip. Lim Chui-ieng has few friends in the village because of her sharp tongue and her snobbishness. Lim A-pou is too busy and as much as possible keeps her daughter-in-law busy, although the latter manages to slip over to the Ong compound more frequently than her mother-in-law realizes. (The Ongs are distantly related to the girl and served as go-between for her marriage.)

[521] The Lim family, however, has far too interesting a potential for village gossip to be isolated. There is a steady trickle of women visiting them, watching Lim A-pou in her ceaseless activity, laughing at her daughter-in-law in her ceaseless inefficiency, and smiling at Lim Chui-ieng in her determined attempt to play the great lady. Not once in my long stay did I see Lim So-lan in the house or talking to any of the women from the house. I could not fail to recognize, however, the honest pleasure on her face when she told me that Lim Chieng-cua had begun to drop into her house now that his friends were gathering there to play cards.

*159 Gioq-ki is another matter. She moves freely through the Lim
*596 house, even the sleeping rooms, poking into personal belongings, bor-
595 rowing knitting needles, much as any other daughter of the family. She is equally relaxed with Lim Chieng-cua, her uncle, as she is with her half-brother, Lim A-bok, but what really surprised me is the ease with which she sits down for a visit with Lim A-pou who has more reason to resent her than anyone else in the family. Gioq-ki's naughty children use the house as freely as they do the house in which their grandmother grew up. More than once I have seen Lim A-pou pick up and comfort the older boy after a fall. During several of the long years of childhood, Gioq-ki considered the house of Lim her home—long before she was old enough to understand the delicacy of her relationship. Her personality is such that she could not bear to know that the house of one of the most important families in the village, a family that is closely related to her, is also closed to her. For once she has had the good sense to move cautiously around subjects that are the source of strain within the main family. She has not openly taken

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,